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usually they draw parallel lines of different colors across the face, crooked lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body." Like Bove, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Yamana.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more pains than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with scrupulous care, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The torso and arms are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

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Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, at time and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor honors the hut owner with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has consciously striven to attain.

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225 parts on the upper jaw extending far back are called yēwēpē
825 the tongue, ilēpē; and the entrails, hēēwa. For the meat close
192 between and on the bones, they use the special designation hīna (349).

> 349. BD:260 gives a different meaning:
> "Old and much wasted blubber as found
> on shores after being long in the sea"
> /cited in English/.

and for the fatty tissue in the body cavities, apēla. The great importance of a stranded whale for an entire group of people explains why there are special designations for the individual areas and parts of the body. Even the place where the whale has been tossed up has the special name ufuhtiteka. The word tuufuhtitehēne, which BD:451 translates "to send (as God does) supplies of whale meat" /cited in English/, comes from the same root.

225 It is easy to see the reason for the distribution by different men. It is nothing more nor less than the best possible utilization of the entire huge animal. They do not want any part to be lost or soiled and trampled. Such devastation would be unavoidable if everybody could step up to the whale unhindered and ruthlessly cut out certain parts for himself. In an orderly distribution the special wishes of those present are considered as much as possible, everyone receives an abundance, and the entire supply is utilized. Hence everybody adheres strictly to the established custom and lets the respective distributors attend to their duty. In spite of
225 this, selfishness sometimes prevails, and a group will try to con-
578 ceal the stranding of a whale from others or, if the latter should come near, deny them access to the dead sea monster. Immediately a fight begins and the weaker side must give up the booty to the others (350). Such events /579/ are rare because a floating

> 350. Bridges (a):308 leaves no doubt about
> serious encounters over a stranded whale:
> "As long as a party can safely keep a whale
> to themselves they take care not to spread
> the news...But great fights sometimes hap-
> pen through the selfishness of a party. For

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> the news must spread abroad, and then a rush of people happens. they are disappointed by coming too late, and should those who hoarded up the blubber not part it out, there is a fight, canoes are broken, and this brings on a general engagement" /cited in English/. As we have said, however, these are rare occurrences.

dead whale is announced over a wide area, and many people hasten there, even from afar. In comparison with these, the ones that first take possession of it are always in the minority.

225 It hardly seems possible, but in the end even a whale is not an inexhaustible source of fat and meat. If 20 families -- usually, however, the number is doubled and quadrupled -- descend on this sea monster, eating excessively and storing large masses of [251] fat in the swamp, the supply diminishes perceptibly. Sometimes many people will leave after about a week, tired of the monotonous diet, and will make room for others. The new arrivals pounce on the rest ravenously, and it diminishes all the more quickly the more numerous they are. A whale has probably never lasted for more than a month, even if it was one of the largest species, such as hakwipina (Balaenoptera intermedia), and was an extraordinarily large specimen, kupatmerana. Sooner or later the skeleton lay there pretty much cleaned of meat and fat, left to the further cleansing of rain and waves.

Lewis, from his own experience, reported on October 9, 1871, about a seemingly mortally weary small whale (351) which was

> 351. "It was a whale, very young, about 17 feet in length" /cited in English/.

effortlessly killed near the coast on September 13th. "The process of dissection was carried on with such zest, that by eleven A.M. the same day not a vestige of flesh or bone remained on the spot, save the liver, not eaten as a rule by the natives. Our poor fellows jumped into the almost freezing water nearly up to their armpits, and applied themselves as I had never previously seen them do.

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867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to eath other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced from the right every woman has to run away from the husband 586 who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between ● 578 their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family hut in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

584 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The 736 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to 604 choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

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maintains. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p. 334).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygamous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /670/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her [578] lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she seriously reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygamous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how irritatingly the favoritism is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

58. The meaning of kõtuana which BD:188 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

595 114 Here is an example of how unreliably two Europeans who visited our Fuegians simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (a):166, "the peace of

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593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 593 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 593 152 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters among the men a consciousness of superior power not established by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

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586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [604] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

586 She often urgently needs this protection because the disappointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or 578 constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: 627 "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgoon and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80;1875) (100).

100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

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caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Post had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191;1875).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /690/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule
586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It
602 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges (a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

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602 571 [578] families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably se-

210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

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178 634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

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230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Adduvia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571 612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

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674 expressly points out that the rich selection of the oddest things and the strangest implements fairly challenged these natives to reach out for them and /985/ entertain themselves with them, without actually intending to steal. They have pilfered all kinds of things just for amusement or in roguish high spirits.

How punctiliously our Yamana respect the property rights of Europeans is shown in recent times, since they have formed a clear opinion about their relations to the Whites. The belongings of the latter are just as safe in Tierra del Fuego as in other parts of the world, but anything that they leave lying around in the open is thoughtlessly abandoned to confiscation by the first person who comes along. No European in the Cape Horn region need fear major burglaries and premeditated banditry on the part of the Yamana. Although I lived with them for months, I never lost the most insignificant thing. On my third journey, as I was leaving Puerto Mejillones after the Kina celebration, I threw away a pair of worn-out stockings beside the wooden house of Santiago. I was already sitting in the canoe when Santiago came running and, waving them high in the air, called loudly: "Martin, you left your stockings here!" It was not until I told him, "I do not need them anymore, keep them for yourself!" that the faithful old man calmed down and went back into his house.

The relatively clear and definite regulation of property relations among the Yamana contributes very considerably to the orderly, peaceful existence of the tribal society. Each of them is very exact about the prevailing rules and customs, and violations of the rights of ownership and property of tribal members are actually rare.

F. Feuds and Blood Vengeance

156 578 Compared to the Selk'nam, the Yamana impress the superficial observer as peaceable people. We must also admit that protracted brawls do not occur as often among them as among the Selk'nam. All this, however, does not alter the scarcely surprising fact that our Yamana, too, are very excitable and easily offended out of an exaggerated feeling of honor. In many things pertaining to their person, things that we Europeans regard as utterly unimportant, they show a sensitiveness which is quite

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156 incomprehensible to us. They lose their equanimity particularly
578 in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. Almost no one quietly endures insults, no matter how small; instead, he uses the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Yamana have such /986/ character traits, less serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (i):13 has correctly characterized them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manners and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval" /cited in English/.

627 Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes (p. 632), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battles or wars. Inasmuch as actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrence rare in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the troublesome effort of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

648 We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Yamana with the Selk'nam (p. 234 /untranslated/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 241 /untranslated/) whom they feared as cannibals (405). Their

405. Hyades (q):240 speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shows itself especially with regard to the neighboring peoples, Alakalouf /Alacaluf/ that is often bloody"

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648 and Ona; in this case it results in strife /translated from French/. Cooper:174 sums up the situation correctly, namely, that "as a rule on border territories the relations have been fairly peaceful" /cited in English/.

relations with Europeans (p. 246 /untranslated/), especially to missionaries (p. 288 /untranslated/), has also been treated in detail and has long been known. Cooper:174 characterizes it correctly and briefly as follows: "More commonly, however, the white man has, deliberately or unwittingly, been the first to give offence" /cited in English/. After the Whites spread out in the Cape Horn Archipelago and confiscated the useful land for themselves, there was nothing for the former sole owners of this region to do but to give in without resistance and with quiet resignation.

a. Causes

152 The Yamana know no more than other primitive peoples
●578 how to control their hurt feelings, especially their feeling of injured honor, nor how to settle insults or humiliations in the amicable way of quiet, matter-of-fact explanation or through a sort of arbiter. /987/ Everyone personally and with his own fist sees to it that justice is done him and that he obtains what he believes to be adequate satisfaction. The individual is first of all sole judge and avenger; in certain instances his nearest relatives help him in protecting his rights.

152 The desire and passion for revenge are extraordinarily emphasized among the Yamana (406). Sometimes they are so carried

406. It is misleading when Hyades (q):240 maintains: "The desire for vengeance does not occupy the Fuegians much..." /translated from French/. The small number of words for the feeling of revenge is no measure of its strength. In this connection see other opinions in Waitz:III, 507.

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away that they are completely incapable of anything like a sensible judgment of an incident. A person will literally foam with rage, in fact storm around as though he had taken leave of his senses, and will even vent his wrath on persons who are intimately connected with the offender who is not within his reach (407). Nevertheless,

> 407. In agreement with Dabbene (b):198, Bridges and Furlong assert: "The Yahgan are very vengeful, and in the event of serious offenses or of homicide they are not so concerned about pursuing the criminal when he has successfully escaped, but in their fury they inflict vengeance on any member of the guilty person's family" /translated from Spanish/.

he can muster astonishing self-control when he realizes that he is too weak to stand against his opponent. He is even capable of hiding his feelings until he is sure of superior strength. This conduct obviously betrays genuine cowardice, and it was no different toward Europeans, for, as Cooper:174 definitely says, they have "often shown themselves hostile, aggressive, and treacherous, when they felt they were numerically superior" /cited in English/. According to the Indian, every satisfaction for an insult or an injustice is an actual act of revenge. This becomes clear from what Hyades (q):240 says, and even more so from the words of Bove (e):159: The family and friends of the injured person exact revenge. It is surely not love for the injured that causes a tribe [a family group] to take up arms, however; the spirit of revenge rules supreme in their hearts."

Closely connected with their exaggerated sensitivity and the desire for revenge which is constantly alive in them is a high degree of suspicion. "There is, or was, a good deal of bad feeling for one another between the members of the three Fuegian tribes" /cited in English/ (Cooper:174). As a matter of fact, no one quite honestly trusts another, among men as well as among women, and everyone lies in wait, so to speak, as though at one time or another he expected a sign of hostile feeling or malevolent intent. Being conscious of this, the individual is more or less painfully exact and very cautious

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152 in associating with others. In spite of this, the suspicious eye of a
●578 neighbor is always discovering something, even though he does not look for it in a decidedly malicious way, and so he interprets this word or that attitude as an offense or a slight, as a threat or a challenge. This kind of character promotes vehement /988/ arguments and wild brawls. The supposed opponent who is attacked is, in most cases, not only innocent, but even completely without presentiment.

578 Linked with this tendency toward constant active suspicion is a never-resting implacability. This is understandable to us and taken for granted by the Yamana. It is why people who have once had more or less serious altercations almost never find their way back to complete mutual trust, no matter how well they seem to get along outwardly. They simply can never forget the incident. No one can conceal his suspicious or hostile attitude toward another person to the point of complete deception. That is why everyone is on his guard if he meets another person or has dealings with him. From all this we now see that the urge of the individual family to be alone, completely cut off from other people, is perfectly understandable, for grave suspicion, together with cowardice and the feeling of the inadequacy of one's own powers, forces them far away from those who could do harm or exact vengeance. Even though the joy of social intercourse now and then brings individual families into contact, they are, as a rule, content with a short period of being together and feel relieved when, soon after, they are once more on their own, free from the glances of suspicious critics. Social intercourse with others is never sincerely friendly without a shadow of mistrust. They are, according to Lothrop (b):164, not an "amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):375 emphasizes their implacability: "The offense which occasions the quarrel is sometimes very old, which proves that the Fuegians are vindictive" /translated from French/.

578 Inasmuch as the Yamana are incapable of completely hiding
152 their inner feelings and emotions indefinitely from a sharp observer, anyone who believes that he has been offended soon adopts a

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discernible counter-position. With such an attitude, insulting words soon follow. For example, several men will be sitting in a circle; someone will be talking with his neighbor and affecting a mysterious air, meanwhile casting a fleeting glance toward a person who is not fond of him. This alone may cause the latter to become falsely suspicious and to assume that the other is talking disparagingly about him. He watches them more sharply, confirms his preconceived idea, and becomes angry. When the circle breaks up or when he feels more confident among another group of people, he will go up to the other man and say to him excitedly: "You have evil designs on me!" The other, being unsuspecting, is dumbfounded for a few minutes and then replies vehemently: "You want to be hostile to me!" The eyes of both men blaze, and immediately, with growing /989/ excitement and more and more loudly, they hurl serious words of suspicion at each other. If they feel they are a match in strength or cowardice, they part sulkily after some blustering. Anyone who feels that a person has spoken disparagingly about his troublesome dog, his naughty child, a personal fault, his laziness in hunting, his neglect of his family, or his illicit relations with a woman, even if he has no further proof than his own suspicious assumption, will usually confront his supposed opponent on the spot and demand an explanation. Without exception, the latter will flare up and resort to invectives or threats which finally lead to blows. A person will be especially annoyed when insulting words and wounding opinions that were actually spoken are brought by a tale-bearer. This is especially the case among women. They are not only quicker to have it out with words, but are also ready with fists.

Such occasions for feuds are frequent and hence an everyday matter, so to speak, because they arise out of the association of a number of people. The situation becomes much more serious in case of adultery. It makes no difference how this becomes known. The mere suspicion creates a dangerous situation for both parties, even though one or the other is innocent. Actually, all the Yamana, without exception, are severe in their condemnation of this error, whether it is convincingly proved or merely probable, simply because they are decidedly jealous. This does not alter the fact that some of them in their own personal behavior may err even more

/989 cont./ seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [h]:205); hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 535).

are exceptions, however, Most murders come about through adultery. For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

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266 though, as we know, they set great store by a dog. Whenever I /991/ wanted to discuss anthropophagy with them, they persistently refused because of aversion and disgust, and they shook their heads as a sign that they regard such a thing as impossible even among other peoples.

627 Every murder, no matter how the murderer justifies or ex-
578 cuses himself, brings revenge in its wake and usually involves a number of persons. Details will be given below. The yékamuš with his machinations is a by no means surprising cause of serious quarrels. It would be premature to go into that at this point; his behavior must first be described in detail, which will be done later. Hostilities and acts of murder arising from his interference are, as usual, settled by the parties involved and with the help of friendly yékamuš. Thus, the causes of discord and disputes among the Yamana are the same as among other peoples; in view of their character traits, the causes are primarily "insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative" /cited in English/, according to Lothrop (b):164 and Hyades (q):374. Mistreatment of the wife should be added. In general, quarrels and discord are not prolonged and sooner or later they are settled again. As has already been reported in Outes (g):59, "small differences are settled among themselves without much difficulty" /translated from Spanish/.

b. Ordinary Quarrels

578 The Yamana certainly are extraordinarily irascible and vengeful; sometimes they simply cannot control themselves and are little amenable to appeasing words. They are neither warlike nor combative by nature, however. This characterizes their natural inclination, but it by no means denies that they easily become involved in quarrels and brawls. "They are," as Hyades (q):374 confirms, "very susceptible and, as a result, inclined to quarrels and strife" /translated from French/. Their predominant tendency is to live in peace with others as much as possible and not to become involved in disputes. This is the sole reason why a family will sometimes remain hidden for years and have no contact, or almost none, with any of their countrymen. Despard

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578 (b):717 has already pointed out "that warfare is not fashionable among them, since they have no chieftains, no military weapons of offence and defence, no fortified places, no war canoes" /cited in English/ (411). Gatherings of many people for warfare would

411. Bove (e):159 too obviously exaggerates: "until a few years ago only very few [Yamana] died a natural death, and the terrible scars which cover the bodies of the oldest ones prove how warlike the Fuegians were and still are. The jus talionis is still in full force among them." He probably relies on Bridges (i):13 who, however, exaggerates when he says: "Their many offences against the dearest rights of their friends and neighbours kept the community in a chronic state of unrest and fighting" /cited in English/.

therefore have been impossible. /992/ There are no reports anywhere concerning them. Finally, one must also take into account the undeniable fact that these Fuegians are very cowardly toward each other.

On the other hand, quarrels between two persons are a frequent occurrence. Martial:207 is right when he says that "quarrels between neighbors are frequent" /translated from French/. It would be hard to decide which of the two sexes outdoes the other in this respect. Usually false suspicion or unfounded vindictiveness starts a loud exchange of words, which becomes more intense. Excitement grows on both sides; the two who are quarreling come closer, seize each other or strike each other with the first stick they can lay their hands on, choke each other, and tussle until much blood flows or until sharp pain paralyzes them and their weakened strength fails. Only then do they silently let go of each other. The whole thing is a regular brawl (412) which is violent or more moderate, brutal

412. Spegazzini (s):168 says briefly: "Warfare, properly speaking, does not exist between these communities; usually it is a matter of quarrels over particular questions" /translated from Spanish/.

/992 cont./

578 or less furious, according to the nature of the combatants. Women, after a brief battle of words, flare up more quickly, seize each other more brutally, bite some part of the body, strike with their fists against mouth and nose and scuffle while pulling very painfully and convulsively on a thick bunch of hair. They do not say anything, but merely hiss and groan. Usually men or other women must pull the raging pair apart. From the start, men try to keep hostile women away from each other. Therefore, the women take advantage of a lonely meeting in the woods or on the beach, where they can really show each other their mutual dislike. Not every man is sufficiently confident of his strength and courage to fight with his opponent (413), and therefore he consciously avoids

> 413. Nevertheless, Bove (e):159 has correctly observed: "Quarrels and fights are common, even in Uschuwaia itself, so that, after one has spent a few days there, their occurrence is no longer surprising."

the other's presence and finally forgets unimportant annoyances, but he always avoids coming in contact with someone who might involve him in a brawl.

627 We insert here an incident that Bridges (i):13 noted in his diary: "Ushuaia, March 24th, 1872. Hatuswaianges very ill from the effect of injuries received from Couiluj who was jealous of him (414). March 28th. This morning Hatuswaianges died.

> 414. He suspected him of adulterous relations with his wife, according to Bridges (MM:VI, 125; 1872). On May 20, 1872, he (loc. cit.) described this quarrel in more detail.

He has been in a very dull state...I fear that the violence of Couiluj has caused his death. March 31st. There have been some few demonstrations of anger by one and another for the death of Hatuswaianges and Couiluj has had to give away his blubber and other things, and in other ways to suffer. 8th [April]. Today a party of 16 canoes arrived with intent to avenge the death of Hatuswaianges, /993/ Couiluj made his escape...The occupants

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627 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with Hatuswaianges or Couiluj indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and Meacol presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the manslayer... There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much threatening and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Meacol, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possesions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives...July 11th. Went to seek Couiluj who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Hatuswaianges of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /cited in English/.

578 The fight between two men sometimes starts in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups developes, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the most common, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the periphery of the entanglement attach themselves to the convulsively locked pair or seize stones and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and thereafter do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two
579 opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, hide their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually just as Bridges (VSA:XI, 269; 1864) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

1: Gusinde--998 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S196 Yahgan S196

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273 578 We should also mention that the present-day Yamana almost without exception partake avidly of alcohol whenever they can get it. When intoxicated, they quickly lose control over themselves, become pugnacious, and get into noisy, brutal quarrels, in which many a man has been badly wounded, made a cripple, or forfeited his life. Even the gentle, quiet Richard killed his first wife in a state of complete drunkenness, so Fred Lawrence declared. Such derangement with serious consequences was unknown in the better olden times.

c. Blood Vengeance

628 Premeditated, serious brawls between two large groups are always the result of a murder. Inasmuch as a person's life is regarded as precious and not to be harmed (p. 880), murder is considered a most execrable deed which, for lack of an existing judicial power, must be avenged by the nearest relatives of the unfortunate victim. Blood vengeance in this case, therefore, is the equivalent of a demand for expiation of the crime which caused the death of a member of the tribe. It does not matter in the least whether death occurred immediately or some time after an attack. This idea of blood vengeance is complemented by the duty of the nearest relative of a victim to carry it out personally or to take part in carrying it out. All adults are in complete agreement on this point.

Without doubt, the fear of strict and inescapable expiation for every murderous deed contributes to everyone being carefully on guard to avoid it. Bridges (MM:IX, 215;1872) confirms this: "Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any profitable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whose vengeance he has incurred by taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred /996/ of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (selfishly) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yea, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed" /cited in English/.

/1136 cont./

for the mock combat. The participants get up, reach for their clubs or paddles, and leave the hut. Sobbing and weeping loudly, they arrange themselves in two groups in an open place outside in no particular order. If the yamalafemique commemorates a recent murder, however, a more definite division is made, and the party of the victim and that of the murderer face each other. Each of the adults is equipped with a club; women who lack a club use their paddles (p. 1004). These objects have previously been painted.

While the two groups are slowly approaching each other, they sob loudly and speak of the deceased for whom the ceremony is being held. They mention his good characteristics and qualities in words of warm appreciation and sincere grief. These utterances cease as soon as the two groups meet. The mock battle immediately begins, with an individual from one side rushing at anyone in the other group and attacking him. The two large groups thus split up into many fighting pairs. Each pair continues to duel for some time. They do not intend to injure one another; hence a blow is checked before it falls. Nevertheless one person or another may receive quite a blow if a pair becomes excited or if two opponents who have many a former account to settle should happen to meet.

/1136/ A more important feature of this sham battle is the utterance of mutual reproaches, making the other person responsible for the death, as though he were to blame for the grief which depresses all the people. A person who is met with reproaches of this kind from his opponent defends himself just as vehemently and keeps the accusations back on the other. If one says, "You caused that one to die, it is your fault that we are all sad now!" then the other replies, "Quite the contrary, you are to blame for everything!" Or one will maintain, "Why didn't you pay more attention to that one [who has just died] and help him?" Whereupon his opponent will defend himself, "You're the one who should have helped him, then he would not have been taken from us!" Another will claim, "You did not give that one any of your booty and that is why he starved!" The retort is: "I always gave him plenty of our booty. If you had done the same he would have been spared us!" Elsewhere one hears: "Why did you not

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come to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you. I was on the Wollaston Islands. It was far easier for you to help him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one man says: "How could you be so carefree! You should have known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer: "You are guiltier. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to reminders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many become excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other. For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other change about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the day and the state of mind of those present. One person or another will get up and dance through the hut, following the simple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yamalalemdjna is concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the leading old people that all the participants should lay down their clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people were holding these things in their hands. After that each one spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly resumes his ordinary tasks.

This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distraction by their own or by strange children, none of the children

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"To call a person Cushpij was a great insult" /cited in English/. In (e):332 and (k):237 it is said: "'Cashpik' is a name which they also gave people who were ridiculous or who had a bad character, and this was a great insult." Likewise Hyades (q):255.

Therefore, kĕ̆špíx is a general concept, not the proper name of a definite individual person (239).

239. Despard (b):717 made this mistake: "Firelanders have a dread of a being called 'Cushpeec,' and are loth to hear his name mentioned. He seems to be a very lean man. When met with, he makes doleful cries..." /cited in English/. In this connection see the detailed description of this generic term above, p. 1033.

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If the Yamana extends the meaning of the word kĕ̆špíx he includes those strange spirit-beings which arise from his imagination and fantasy, his belief and his dreams, and which do not truly live, as do Wataúinéiwa and the human souls separated from the body. Each of the various groups forms its own peculiar society. In this connection the Yamana also extends the designation kĕ̆špíx to include a rare individual case which deviates from the human norm. BD:466 refers to this with the word tūkŏ̆špigŏna, "to say a person is cushpik [kĕ̆špíx] or like one, to accuse a person of acting the part of a cushpik, i.e., of speaking or acting without any regard to truth or propriety" /cited in English/. Actual consciousness, presence of mind, personal alertness are also called kĕ̆špíx, that is, the definite kĕ̆špíx which lives in the human being, and there is then no sharp distinction between this condition and the human soul. An unusual notion or impulse or even coincidence also belongs in this category. Earlier, on page 488, I related an unimportant incident. The daughter of old Pedro Malemikens, who was about seven years old, following a

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X756 yecamoosh" /cited in English/.

The yẽkamuš are not united in a group or society; rather, each one is independent and operates by himself. It is a general rule that each family group, that is, the combination of a few related families, has its own yẽkamuš. In this group, of course, he has a certain superiority. Such a distinction has no legal basis, but exists in fact. In this sense blood ties bind the yẽkamuš to his group for the time being. He profits by his greater age no less than by his rich experience and the many superior achievements which he has to his credit. His sphere of duty is extensive, and the family group with which he is connected expects all kinds of help from him. If he grants this willingly and successfully, his reputation steadily grows. Finally they all become so generally dependent upon him that he seems like a legally appointed person of authority (318), but it

318. Fitz-Roy (a):211 accurately judged this state of affairs: "I never could distinctly ascertain whether the eldest man, or the doctor of a tribe had the most influence; but from what little I could learn, it appeared to me that the elder of a family or tribe had a sort of executive authority, while the doctor gave advice, not only in domestic affairs, but with respect to most transactions" /cited in English/.

would be false to assume that the individual is to any extent hindered in his freedom of movement or in his independent way of life by the yẽkamuš. It is only occasionally that the medicine man acts in such a way that the tribal member who displeases him must give in or is forced in a direction contrary to his desires. In the main the yẽkamuš extends a great deal of help to his group and relatives in the exigencies and sorrows of everyday life. He, as well as those around him, sees this as the primary duty of his calling.

X756 754 ●578 The benevolent influence of the yẽkamuš is cheerfully admitted, but beyond that he is definitely a cause of great

X756 /1385 cont./
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578 disturbances. This is chiefly true of one who is accused of having caused the death of a beloved person or /1386/ a widespread sickness. For many people a yékamuš may cause almost constant fear and anxiety. They cannot even flee for safety because the yékamuš extend their influence over wide areas. The missionaries often complained about this. Burleigh, for example, wrote on October 29, 1893: "Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wollaston with her sorceries, and by causing the death of those she hated, and who went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sins" /cited in English/ (MM:XXVIII, 57;1893). The anxiety of a family group may continue for a considerable time if several yékamuš fight each other in their own peculiar way.

X756 In spite of all this, the people place their entire confidence in the yékamuš at times of personal distress and general need. He must help them in case of serious illness, protect them against the threat of malevolent natural forces, lead an expedition of revenge, and defend each individual against all kinds of dangers which are part of everyday life. In general his activity is actually more beneficial and advantageous than harmful and detrimental to the individual and his group. For this reason a capable, helpful yékamuš is loved by his people; they appreciate and respect him, obey him and confide in him. If one yékamuš is more capable than another, there is even serious jealousy among the individual family groups. In general each family follows its guiding yékamuš, entrusts itself to his care, and defends him against others. From all this one can see how closely a yékamuš is associated with his immediate neighborhood.

X756 Although the natives themselves speak of women who act
462 as yékamuš, and many Europeans confirm this, such accounts must be qualified. Usually a woman does no more than accompany her husband in singing now and then, or silently and patiently sits beside him when he gives himself up to deepest concentration. I was often a witness to this. Old Emilia, who was married to middle-aged Manuel, and Sara, the wife of Maŝemikens, were pointed out to me as yékamuš (319). Neither

319. Hyades (q):257 also writes: "Mr. Bridges

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X 756 Let it be stated with all firmness that every yékamuš is an altogether normal, mentally healthy human being. Persons who are mentally inferior and in an advanced state of senility are not taken seriously even in everyday life; how, therefore, could they attain that pre-eminence which every capable medicine man enjoys? Rather, it can be taken as a general rule that the yékamuš is talented above the average, that he is more active and more capable than the men around him. His greater ability and richer mental gifts alone place him above his neighbors; his extensive and more profound knowledge gained from experience give him standing. These natural advantages give a medicine man's activity considerable importance.

X 756 ● 518 764 Naturally, there is a difference in their ability, depending on the talent and knowledge of the individual. The people /1392/ know and name those few yékamuš who have performed impossible things, and they are satisfied with the majority who have not gone beyond mediocrity. In view of the disposition of our Yamana, it is not surprising that the greater ability of one yékamuš has caused petty jealousies on the part of another group whose yékamuš is not as highly regarded. The one who feels insulted challenges his rival to one of the customary feats of strength. Basically they take place as follows. A yékamuš throws an object, for example, a yékuš, at his adversary. In case the yékamuš who is attacked does not recognize the approaching foreign body or cannot nullify its effect, he is wounded, weakens, and dies. If from the start the attacker does not succeed in hurling the yékuš far enough, so that it falls before reaching its goal or is caught by the medicine man who is attacked, then the attacker is regarded as the weaker one and loses the competition. All this takes place in the mental field of vision of the medicine men, which remains inaccessible to the ordinary Yamana. The latter learn only as much as the competing yékamuš themselves tell them and only as much as they choose to reveal.

X 756 173 On March 19, 1923, the Yamana told me the following ancient tale. Once upon a time there were two brothers who were capable yékamuš. For a long time they lived together peaceably, but one day they had a serious quarrel. All the

/1418 cont./

other. This Yecoosh, which can only be seen by a doctor, and can only be held by him, the doctors pretend to suck out of the body of the sick person, who afterwards is supposed to recover his health quickly" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 258;1864).

how /1419/ his effort has turned out, he notifies the person of his condition and also identifies the yẽkamuš who wounded him. Moreover, he soon thereafter turns to that yẽkamuš, "in the dream" naturally, reproaches him for his destructive act, and rebukes him thoroughly: "Know that I am stronger than you! Beware of harming any of my relatives or friends! Look at this yẽkuš which you hurled against X [he gives the name] and of which I relieved him!" The other yẽkamuš realizes that he is exposed and does not contradict him. Sometimes the successful yẽkamuš shows the people around him the yẽkuš that he took out of the wounded person. Everyone who sees it -- naturally, only in their imaginations, as presented by the yẽkamuš -- is amazed at its size and the ability of the medicine man. The people's admiration increases if the yẽkamuš has brought relief to a friend who was in great danger from a hostile yẽkamuš without being aware of his condition. Many medicine men spend considerable [578] time in the broad realm of imagination and fantasy, and they are obviously the cause of all kinds of provocations by individuals or whole groups against one another.

Usually the yẽkamuš applies his cure directly to the sick person. He has rubbed his own body with white pigment and tied his apawẽ̂ra around his forehead. He sometimes also puts two or three of them around his torso. This external trapping lends special solemnity to his activity. The sick person is lying on his pallet, and the yẽkamuš squats beside him. Usually members of the sick person's family are present. The medicine man begins his song, and in his awake vision he points with his finger to the part of the body where the yẽkuš is lodged. First he presses and massages the spot with his hands; then he puts his mouth to it and sucks as though he were drawing the yẽkuš up to the surface. Finally, at the moment of greatest agitation, while his whole body

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jucas* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.